G 175 182 619 /35 cont./ in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative independence as a group. It is plain that

G 175 184 181 648 On the other hand, we must also take into account the existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in particular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

G 175 184 181 Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara

45. 1910, II:256.

G M 175 648 131 M 563 adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

G M 175 648 571 case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique--RCO)

M 563 622

G M 175 648 [527] 1622 [582]

/35 cont./
Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/ will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311. In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layâna words. The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

G M [101]

G [191]

3:Oliveira--41 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

G 137/
M
175 The occurrence of these struggles, which recurred until
648 the end of the 18th century, and thus up to the moment of the
M beginning of the Guaná migrations, shows that the Guaikurú
721 technique of contracting marriage with Guaná female caciques
563 had no other end than to facilitate the domination of one group
[381] over the other, and thus lend legal sanction to the Guaikurú hegemony. Actually there was no total plundering of Guaná goods, whether material or even psychological, i.e., in terms of rights, as occurred in the relations of the Guaikurú with other neighboring tribal groups. The Guaná were too numerous and, especially, useful, to serve as suppliers of certain consumer goods necessary to the Mbayá-Guaikurú community. It would not have been wise to destroy them, in a war without respite, such as they waged on the Guaxi, Guató, and Txamakôko. With these, the technique was to kill the men and most of the women, and to adopt the children. If the same policy had been carried out with the Guaná, they would have lost the best agriculturalists in the entire region and, in addition, the allies best equipped to maintain the Guaikurú supremacy throughout the Paraguay basin.

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M
175 We regard as quite objective the opinion of D. Juan
648 Aguirre when he tries to find the cause that gave rise to Guaná
571 subjection: "According to the best informants I could get," he says, "the custom of the service of the Guanás began after the peace of the Mbayá. The latter lived along the former's way in the Province, and as they came, worked, and took along implements with which they progressed and also traded with the other Indians, the Mbayás began to charge them for the right of way; they paid them, and in this way, since only a few came and went, they were subjected to the open superiority of the Mbayás whom they truly respect and serve with a submission to which we can bear witness."(52) Even if--as seems

52. 1898:472.

G M 175 648 571

/37 cont./ very probable--we regard those Guaná as an Exoaladi or Layâna subgroup, and not the whole of the Guaná tribes, we would have to agree that undoubtedly this was one of the forms that the association between the two groups assumed. And, on the other hand, the sources consulted do not permit the unequivocal selection of any one of the hypotheses propounded here as to the cause of this peculiar submission of a sedentary, agricultural group to a nomadic, hunting, and gathering one. Rather than being mutually exclusive, we believe that these /hypotheses/ reflect different aspects of the same process of ecological competition /38/ and tribal interaction: explanations based on (i) marriages of caciques, or (ii) Guaikurú attack on members of Guaná local groups, or yet (iii) the control of paths of communication with other population groups that were necessary to Guaná trade, all these events already analyzed above are facts that express the vicissitudes experienced by the Guaná in their effort to adjust to an adverse conjuncture.

It is well to conclude this chapter--in which we try to characterize the process of Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal interaction--with this impression of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, when he met those groups at the close of the 18th century: "There is little difference between (the Guaná--RCO) and the Guaikurús, whose neighbors, friends, and allies they are. They intermarry and render reciprocal assistance, whenever required by some general or private need."(53) Thus this close inter-

G M [177]

53. 1791:4.

action--which we might classify as symbiotic(54)--to some

54. "Relations are symbiotic if the agents view each other largely from the stand point of their usefulness, with a minimum concern for fair play

3:Oliveira--43 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

/38 cont./

and adherence to norms."
E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
/Cited in English./

extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,

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73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer, who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature, and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

796 182 619 571 462 114 [Traditional Culture]

/52 cont./ largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage, the soul of every festival."(88) Once the raw material had

[222] [223]

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for the same end."(89) And the function of these annual gatherings

796 182 619 571

89. The chronicler goes on: "Some sew glass beads on pieces of striped cotton cloth, others cut and lay out the red feathers with which they make ornaments for the head; yet others sketch on their husbands' bodies delicate paintings, when they do not do this themselves." (1949, II:304.)

[301] [302]

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only moment when the local groups manage to gather together all (or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

[Traditional Culture]

/52 cont./ of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that traditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to

90. "The cerimonial life of the "Tereno" and probably of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect, Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, today changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/104 cont./

184 233 511 include any native families that own reasonable numbers of beeves sufficient to give them relative economic independence, like those of Lalima and Brejão.

184 233 511 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending [166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from [441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd [427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring 182 241 511 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas, like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and, especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 571 177 The most significant differences between Terêna communities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane, since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 798 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[755] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[795] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[571] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

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168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/117 cont./

178 796 756 775 [165]

Campo Grande. All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 178 755 756 771 796 Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the [619] present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

178 571 [172] This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

/118 cont./

178 structure over a two-fold, symmetrical one, could not survive
571 after the dispersal of the Terêna and the resulting disorganization of the local groups. We should also add to this the kinship system itself, which, thanks to the unity of the "sibling" group, made even much more difficult the survival of the tribal organization, insofar as it reduced considerably the marriage possibilities, already so limited by the strata. In the face of this, it can be said that such a structure is rigid, as opposed to the flexible type mentioned by the members of the Seminar on Acculturation when they refer to the possibility of a typological differentiation of the internal structures of cultural systems. (188)

188. Social Science Research Council, 1954:976-977.

177 The counterpart of the disappearance of the old social
571 structure was the adoption of an associative system, still vague, but which emerged from the neo-Brazilian communities that formed along the paths of the pioneering settlers. Monogamy, the nuclear family as a dwelling unit, greater freedom in the choice of a spouse, and the compadrío system, for example, were cultural complexes incorporated into the tribal culture
178 that transformed completely the traditional way of life. But
571 not even by this did the Terêna lose their "tribal consciousness,"
619 even though it had been traumatized by the breakdown of the old infra-structure and by its dislocation from the old value system, its religion, and its mythology. At least those Terêna who remained in their aldeas, or who reorganized into relatively autonomous communities (such as those of group (b) had land on which to live and to cultivate, and as a result could have a group life and thus keep alive /119/ the "tribal we" and postpone indefinitely their assimilation into Brazilian society.

/125 cont./

*177 369 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] [123] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 369 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso. [167] [571] [829] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Whereas on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

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*177 369 [571] [829] [464] them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the city, raise their children there, or build up their families there. On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimilation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed.

[361] [186] [571]

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/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

121 128 In the examination in which we are engaged, with respect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 369 [781] 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [349]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

[241]

*177 582 563 369 562 [571] situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 608 557 The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Pururuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

[175] [851]

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000 with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

*177 4. Aside from the barriers mentioned so far, namely: (1) the ethnic ones (phenotype and language), (2) those created by the urban labor market (lack of documents and preference for agricultural work), and (3) those created by the intervention of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (segregation and discrimination), there are also, to make difficult the full functioning of the assimilation mechanisms, those barriers that we shall call "social," because they operate on the level of the organization of the associative life.

*177 The first of these emerges from the difficulty encountered
369 by the Terêna population coming from the aldeas in maintaining
● 571 the same index of associative life. Whether they settle on fazendas or in cities--especially in cities--Terêna families become involved in more impersonal relations, more shallow, and limited to a small group of fellow tribesmen (usually neighbors, relatives, and compadres) and a few fellow workers. The intensive "social life" of the aldeas (festivals, games, visits, etc.) has no counterpart on the fazendas or in the cities. All of that typically tribal interaction to which they were
[511] accustomed gradually disappears. Even the recreational life
[565] of the Terêna emigrant, which at first seemed about to be enriched by his move to the urban areas, for example, proves much poorer because it is inaccessible to the less favored strata of the population in which he settles.

*177 This integration into the lowest strata, in turn, can be
369 considered as a second barrier that arises between the Terêna
565 and the national society. The detribalized population, from the moment when it leaves its aldea, even if it does not lose touch altogether with its local group, goes on to live either as landless country people (when it settles on fazendas), or as manual laborers (when it lives in the cities). The exceptions,
[511] already mentioned earlier, are rare. But the fact that this detribalized population (especially the urbanized one),

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as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.) This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

*177 369 565 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

[361] The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

*177 369 562 564 563 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in forming families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

/149 cont./

*177 369 582 562 563 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman. The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage, when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also true that it covers only one populational category, namely, the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled to remain connected as much as possible with their communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives. One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals [128] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters) without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered, it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation of their children and of themselves.

*177 182 571 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process. [156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones), there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc.... If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

/150 cont./

*177 182 571 off of the smallest inclusive group, the mechanism of marginalization (already active) begins to operate with great efficacy, making it improbable that the individual would move (in terms of Glaser's "continuum") to a "segregating" condition, often with his return to the community of origin; on the contrary, either he remains "marginal" or he evolves to a "desegregating" condition (in which most of the individuals born and raised in the cities or on the fazendas seem to be included); from this to an "assimilated" /condition/--which marks the final stage of the process--the distance is less, although, as we have seen, it is hard to verify empirically. (211) /151/ It should be made

> 211. "The pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrap olating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically, except with respect to the most diffuse ethnic identities (e.g. "Nordic"), although the American Creed may be interpreted as implying that an assimilated pattern is ideal" (Glaser, 1958:34). /Cited in English./ As for the composition of the "continuum," see notes 172 and 196.

*177 128 It should be made clear, however, that it is not always possible to distinguish every moment of a real processus, although one may have an idea of its most significant stages. For this reason, we did not believe at any time that we were describing the assimilation phenomenon with the same precision with which the social organization of a tribe or the communication system of a complex

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6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582 565 616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, straresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115] [178] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and withouth a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal [591] marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenó). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182 ● 571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati in-group. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the

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disruption of local groups, during the Paraguayan war. During and immediately following this period until the reorganization of the villages at the beginning of this century, the Terena subsisted in extreme poverty, even at times being held as slaves on the ranches which sprang into being after the war and the demobilization of government troops in the area. The result, as can be seen today, was the discontinuance of frequent and systematic contact among the communities, now located on the Indian reserves, with the subsequent loss of interest of a Terena in his tribesman in another village. Even thoug it is still not difficult for a Terena to find some relative in any one of the other villages, the relationship is so distant and so weak that there is no basis for encouraging the tie. A Terena continues to identify himself with his local group, his stratum and his moiety. He also continues to treat his relatives in another village as one of his people. But the original fabric of intercommunal relations, of trading goods and exchanging women, has disappeared completely, weakening tribal solidarity to the point at which each community forms a discrete unit with a destiny distinct from that of the rest.

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